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SPEECHES

OF

POPE PIUS IX.

BY THE

RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.,

AUTHOR OF "THE VATICAN DECREES IN THEIR BEARING ON CIVIL ALLEGIANCE,"
"VATICANISM," ETC.



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SPEECHES OF POPE PIUS IX.

[Republished from the QUARTERLY REVIEW for January, 1875.]

ART. VIII.¹—*Discorsi del Sommo Pontefice Pio IX., pronunziati in Vaticano, ai Fedeli di Roma e dell' Orbe, dal principio della sua Prigionia fino al presente.* Vol. I., Roma, Aurelj, 1872; Vol. II., Cuggiani, 1873.

As a general rule, the spirit of a system can nowhere be more fairly, more authentically learned than from the language of its accredited authorities, especially of its acknowledged Head. The rule applies peculiarly to the case of the Papacy and of the present Pope, from considerations connected both with the system and with the man. The system aims at passing its operative utterances through the lips of the Supreme Pontiff; and as no holder of the high office has ever more completely thrown his personality into his function, so no lips have ever delivered from the Papal Throne such masses of matter. Pope all over, and from head to foot, he has fed for eight-and-twenty years upon the moral diet which a too sycophantic following supplies, till every fibre of his nature is charged with it, and the simple-minded Bishop and Archbishop Mastai is hardly to be recognized under the Papal mantle.

¹ At the time when this Article was written and published I was unaware that the Rev. W. Arthur had published, in a small volume entitled 'The Modern Jove,' a searching review of the contents of the first volume of the 'Discorsi,' or I should not have omitted to notice it. In this work Mr. Arthur justly comments on the lack of disposition to estimate these subjects as they deserve (p. 117); an indisposition which I believe to be more characteristic of life and its organs in our metropolis than in the country at large. 'The Ultramontane party in Rome,' says Mr. Arthur, 'are not accountable for the illusions of English politicians and clergy, for they have of late been very outspoken.' He also cites a remarkable exclamation of Mr. O'Connell's, who, on hearing it stated in public that his Church had an infallible head, cried aloud, 'No, an infallible body.'

It can hardly be policy, it must be a necessity of his nature, which prompts his incessant harangues. But they are evidently a true picture of the man; as the man is of the system, except in this that he, to use a homely phrase, blurts out, when he is left to himself, what it delivers in rather more comely phrases, overlaid with art.

Much interest therefore attaches to such a phenomenon as the published Speeches of the Pope; and, besides what it teaches in itself, other and singular lessons are to be learned from the strange juxtaposition in which, for more than four years, his action has now been exhibited. Probably in no place and at no period, through the whole history of the world, has there ever been presented to mankind, even in the agony of war or revolution, a more extraordinary spectacle than is now witnessed at Rome. In that city the Italian Government holds a perfectly peaceable, though originally forcible, possession of the residue of the States of the Church; and at the same time the Pope, remaining on his ground, by a perpetual blast of fiery words, appeals to other lands and to future days, and thus makes his wordy, yet not wholly futile, war upon the Italian Government.

The mere extracts and specimens which have from time to time appeared in the public journals have stirred a momentary thrill or sigh or shrug, according to the temperaments and tendencies of readers. But they have been totally insufficient to convey an idea of the vigor with which this peculiar warfare is carried on; of the absolute, apparently the contemptuous, tolerance with which it is regarded by the Government ruling on the spot; or of the picture which is presented to us by the words and actions of the Pope, taken as a whole, and considered in connection with their possible significance to the future peace of Europe.

Between the 20th of October, 1870, and the 18th of September, 1873, this octogenarian Pontiff (he is now aged at least eighty-two), besides bearing all the other cares of ecclesiastical government, and despite intervals of illness, pronounced two hundred and ninety Discourses, which are reported in the eleven hundred pages of the two volumes now to be introduced to the notice of the reader. They are collected and published for the first time by the Rev. Don Pasquale de Francis; and, though they may be deemed highly incendiary documents, they are sold at the bookshop of the Propaganda, and are to be had in

the ordinary way of trade by virtue of that freedom of the press which the Papacy abhors and condemns.

The first question which a judicious reader will put is whether we have reasonable assurance that this work really reports the Speeches of the Pontiff with accuracy. And on this point there appears to be no room for reasonable doubt. Some few of them are merely given as abstracts, or *sunti*; but by far the larger number *in extenso*, in the first person, with minutely careful notices of the incidents of the occasion, such as the smiles, the sobs, the tears¹ of the Pontiff on the auditory; the animated gestures of the one, the enthusiastic shoutings of the other, which cause the halls of the Vatican to ring again. In a detailed notice, which, instead of introducing the First Volume, is rather inconveniently appended to it at the close, the editor gives an account both of the opportunities he has enjoyed and of the loving pains he took in the execution of his task. On nearly every occasion he seems to have been present and employed as a reporter (*raccoglitore*); once his absence is noticed, as if an unusual no less than unfortunate circumstance (ii. 284). In a particular instance (ii. 299) he speaks of the Pope himself as personally giving judgment on what might or might not be published (*sarebbe stato pubblicato, se così fosse piaciuto a CHI potèa volere altrimenti*). The whole assistance of the Papal press in Rome was freely given him (i. 505). Eyes and ears, he says, far superior to his own, had revised and approved the entire publication (i. 506). The Preface to the Second Volume refers to the enthusiastic reception accorded to the First, and announces the whole work as that which is alone authentic and the most complete (ii. 14, 15). So that our footing plainly is sure enough; and we may reject absolutely the supposition which portions of the book might very well suggest, namely, that we were reading a scandalous Protestant forgery.

Certainly, if the spirit of true adoration will make a good reporter, Don Pasquale ought to be the best in the world. The Speeches he gives to the world are 'a treasure,' and that treasure is sublime, in-

¹ In the estimation of Don Pasquale, all emotion, if within the walls of the Vatican and on the Papal side, is entitled to respect, and must awaken sympathy; but when he has to describe the tears and sobs which, as he states, accompanied the funeral procession of the ex-Minister Ratazzi (ii. 350), he asks, Might not this be a Congress of Crocodiles (*non sembra questo un Congresso di Coccodrilli*)?

spired, divine (i. 1, 2, 3). Not only do we quote these epithets textually, but they, and the like of them, are repeated every where, even to satiety, and perhaps something more than satiety. 'Receive, then, as from the hands of angels, this Divine Volume of the Angelic Pío Nono' (p. 4); 'the most glorious and venerated among all the Popes' (p. 3); 'the portentous Father of the nations' (p. 11). This is pretty well, but it is not all. He is 'the living Christ' (p. 9); he is the Voice of God. There is but one step more to take, and it is taken. He is (in the face of the Italian Government) Nature, that protests: he is God, THAT CONDEMNS (p. 17).

In a letter dated December 10, 1874, and addressed to a monthly magazine,¹ Archbishop Manning, with his usual hardihood, says, 'For a writer who affirms that the Head of the Catholic Church claims to be the Incarnate and Visible Word of God I have really compassion.' Will this bold controversialist spare a little from his fund of pity for the editor of these Speeches, who declares him to be the living Christ, and for the Pope, under whose authority this declaration is published and sold?

Truly, some of the consequences of a 'free press' are rather startling. And those who are astonished at the strained and preternatural tension, the *surexcitation anormale*, to borrow a French phrase, the inflamed and inflaming tone of the language ordinarily used by the Pontiff, should carefully bear in mind that the fulsome and revolting strains, of which we have given a sample, exhibit to us the atmosphere which he habitually breathes.

Even those, however, who would most freely criticise, and, indeed, denounce the prevailing strain and too manifest upshot of these Speeches, may find pleasure, while they yield a passing tribute to the persevering tenacity and, if we may be pardoned such a word, the pluck which they display. It may be too true that the Pope has brought his misfortunes on his own head. But they are heavy, and they are aggravated by the weight of years; and the strong constitution, indicated by his deep chest and powerful voice, has had to struggle with various infirmities. Yet by his mental resolution all 'cold obstruction' is kept at arms-length; and he delivers himself from week to week or day to day—

¹ *Macmillan's Magazine* for January, 1875.

sometimes, indeed, more than once in the day—of his copious and highly explosive material, with a really marvelous fluency, versatility, ingenuity, energy, and, in fact, with every good quality except that, the absence of which, unhappily, spoils all the rest—namely, wisdom. And, odd to say, even the word wisdom (*saviezza*) seems to be almost the only one which in these Speeches does not constantly pass his lips.

Reversing the child's order with his plate at dinner, let us keep to the last that which is the worst, and also the heaviest, part of the task before us; and begin by noticing one or two discourses of the Holy Father to little children, which are full of charm and grace. For even very little children go to him on deputations, and, reciting after the Italian manner, discharge in manufactured verse their antirevolutionary wrath. An infant of five years old denounces before him the sacrilegious oppressor! (ii. 405). Another *fanciulletta* declares the Pope to be the King of kings (ii. 465). These interviews were turned by the Pope to edification. He tells the children of their *peccatucci* (ii. 209)—how shall we try to give the graceful *tournure* of the phrase? 'darling little sins;' and certain orphans he again gently touches with the incomparable Italian diminutive on their *difettucci* and their *rabbiette*, and lovingly presents to them the example of their Saviour:

'Now that the Church commemorates' (it was on Dec. 19) 'the birth of Jesus Christ the babe, do you cause Him to be re-born in your hearts; . . . beg Him to put there something that is good, namely, a good will to study, and to mind your work and all your other duties.'

And so he blesses them, and sends them away (ii. 119).

There are other examples not less pleasing, such as a discourse to some penitents of the Roman Magdalen. After mentioning the case of Rahab, the Pontiff proceeds in a tone both evangelical and fatherly (ii. 57):

'You, too, my daughters, carry the red mark; you, too, carry a mark able to deliver you from the assaults that the enemies of your souls will make. This red mark you have put upon you; and its meaning is, the most precious blood of Jesus Christ. Often meditate on this blood, which has merited for you the grace of your salvation and your conversion. At the feet of the crucified Jesus, even as once did the repentant Magdalen, meditate on the love that He has shown you, and you will triumph over all your enemies.'

There is, perhaps, not a word of this affectionate and simple address which would not be acceptable even if it were delivered from a Non-conforming pulpit, so devoid is it of the specialties of the Roman Church. Nor is this the only discourse of which the same might be

said (see, for instance, Disc. cxxii.). Nor must we very sharply complain if sometimes we find in these Discourses the religious ideas which we are wont to condemn as Popery. They are, perhaps, less frequent and flagrant than might have been expected. • They assume prominence, however, in one passage particularly, where the Pope declares that the prayers of the Mother addressed to her Son have almost the character of commands (*hanno quasi ragion di comando*, ii. 394); and there is traceable in some of the Addresses a curious, sometimes an amusing, idea of the personal claim upon the Blessed Virgin Mary and others of the Saints, which he has established by his acts, especially constituting the Immaculate Conception a part of the Christian faith. ‘She owes you the finest gem in her coronet,’ says one deputation (ii. 325). ‘If,’ says another, ‘it be certain that gratitude is more lively in heaven than on earth, let him’ (here we are dealing with St. Louis, to whom the Pope had erected a monument), ‘by way of payment, give you back your crown’ (ii. 116). And again, with yet greater naïveté, ‘and most holy Mary the Immaculate, on whom you conferred so great an honor, surely she will never allow herself to be outdone in generosity?’ (ii. 26.)

Next after the personal piety and geniality, which not even all the perversions of his policy can extinguish in the Pope, some sympathy remains due to his irrepressible sentiment of fun. To this even social rumor has done justice in some cases. For example, at the time of the Council, when his hospitality was so taxed by the presence of large numbers of very poor bishops as to threaten him with an empty exchequer, he is commonly reported to have said, ‘*facendomi infallibile, mi faranno fallire*’—‘while declaring me *un-failable*, they will cause me to *fail*.’ In these volumes he explains to a group of children the prevailing redundancy of demoniacal action in Italy by recounting an observation then recently made to him, ‘that all the devils had been let out from hell, except a porter, to receive new arrivals.’ The Preface shows he felt the ground to be tender, for he introduced the story by saying (i. 40): ‘Here I should like to tell you an incident. Yet I am doubtful, as it might excite too much merriment; but come, I will give it you.’

This for children; but for bishops also, newly made bishops, he has his comic anecdote, and, in order that it may be suitable, he chooses it

from the life of a Saint, though a modern one. Alphonso Liguori, now not only a Saint, but also lately promoted by the Pope to the rank of a Doctor of the Church, in his time, it seems, used to bore the Neapolitan Ministro Tannucci, and consequently sometimes found it hard to get within his doors. One day, having long to wait, the Bishop sat upon the steps and recited his 'corona;' and he recounts his weariness in one of his letters, with the comment which shall be given in the original tongue: '*questo benedetto ministro mi fa sputare un' ala di polmone*' (ii. 286).

The Pope's references to Holy Scripture are very frequent; and yet perhaps hardly such as to suggest that he has an accurate or familiar acquaintance with it. They are possibly picked piecemeal out of the services of the Church for the day. It is, for example, to say the least, a most singular method of reference to the difficult subject of the Genealogies of our Lord to say (i. 127), 'we read at the commencement of two of the Gospels a long Genealogy of Him, which comes down from Princes and Kings.' Where, again, did the Pontiff learn that the Jews, as a nation, had some celebrity as smiths (*nell' arte fabbrile*, i. 169)? with which imaginary celebrity he oddly enough connects the mention of the antediluvian Tubal-cain in Gen. iv. 22. Nor can any thing be more curious than his *exegesis* applied to the Parable of the Sower. He expounds it to a Roman deputation (i. 335). The way-side represents the impious and unbelievers, and all who are possessed by the devil; those who received the seed among the thorns are those who rob their neighbor and plunder the Church; the stony places represent those who know, but do not act. 'And who are the good ground? You. The good ground is that which is found in all good Christians, in all those who belong to the numerous Catholic Clubs.' Now the Clubs on the other side are Clubs of Hell (ii. 420 *bis*); sanctity is thus (here and commonly elsewhere) identified with certain politics. Nor does it seem very easy to trace in detail the resemblance between the exposition of the Vicar and that given by the Principal (Matt. xiii. 18-23).

Indeed, the Papal Exegesis appears somewhat frequently to bear marks of dormitation. Thus, placing King Solomon at a date of twenty-two or twenty-three centuries back (ii. 32), he makes that sovereign the contemporary either of Pericles or of Alexander the Great. More im-

portant, because it is a specimen of the willful interpretations so prevalent at Rome, is the mode in which he proves his right to be the Teacher-general of all States and all nations, because (ii. 456) Saint Peter was chosen, in the case of Cornelius, to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles.

Many, again, will read with misgiving the Pope's treatment of the text (Luke ii. 52): 'And Jesus increased in *wisdom* and stature.' 'This increase was only apparent, for in Him, the Son of God, was' (*i. e.* was already) 'the fullness of all wisdom, as of every virtue' (i. 42). To resolve positive statements of Holy Scripture into mere seeming is not a mode of exposition the most in favor with orthodox Christianity; and, if it is to be applied to statements affecting the Perfect Humanity of our Lord, to what point is it to be carried? The Commentary of Cornelius à Lapide, which will not be viewed with suspicion in Roman quarters, discusses at great length this most interesting text, and, after considering the varied language of the Fathers, proceeds to lay it down that, besides growth in appearance and in the opinion of men, and besides the growth of what we term experience, '*tertiò et propriè, esto Christus non creverit sapientiâ et gratiâ habituali, crevit tamèn actuali et practicâ; nam robur spiritûs et sapientiam coelestem in animâ latentem, indies magis et magis exerebat etiam existens puer.*' Those who desire a more modern statement may with advantage consult a beautiful passage in the Commentary of Dean Alford *in loco*.

But what is really sad in the Scriptural references of the Pope is the incessant and violent application which is made of them to political incidents and circumstances, and the too daring appropriation to himself of passages, very exalted indeed, which relate to our Saviour.

As respects the former of these topics, we may take as an example a short speech to a company of ladies engaged in the reclamation of girls who have lived a life of shame: 'With the same charity and zeal which you have employed in doing good to these girls, by reclaiming them from sin, be careful to pray the Almighty that your charity may also reach all the enemies of the Church.' What would be thought of the taste of any Protestant association of this country which should exhort the managers of the Magdalen never to forget praying God for the conversion of Papists? Tories and Liberals might in this way reciprocally do a stroke of business in politics while exercising their

charity and piety. In truth, it might seem to the readers of these volumes as if the putting down of Italian liberalism and nationality (which are for the Pope one and the same thing) had constituted the one great purpose for which the Gospel had been sent into the world. Certainly no one can complain that the Pope's injunctions to pray are not sufficient, either in number or in urgency: they are incessant. The Pope gives no countenance whatever to the theory of Professor Tyndall, or to that of Mr. Knight, who, as we understand, so cleverly settles the great Prayer-controversy by 'splitting the difference.' But of the almost innumerable exhortations to pray in these volumes, at least nineteen in twenty are directed to the establishment of sound Papal politics, and the conversion, or, failing this, the destruction of Liberals, as though they were the people of some new Sodom and Gomorrah, or Tyre and Sidon; to the triumph of the Church, and the restoration of what the Pope, with his peculiar ideas, is pleased to call 'peace.'

It appears, however, that the comparison, which he draws indirectly between women living by the wages of sin and Liberals, admits of a yet more pungent application in the case of a class who are, in the Pope's eyes, even worse than Liberals. These are the bad Catholics, who have 'disdained the light of faith.' These will, he says (ii. 31), be judged more severely than women who live in shame, but who are far more likely to repent. 'The light of faith' is, we opine, that of the Vatican Council; and the 'bad Catholics' appear to be the eminent men who declined to affirm as immemorial truths the novelties and the historical falsehoods it imposed.

One touch remains to be added to this portion of the extraordinary picture. The prisoner not imprisoned, who is weekly visited by crowds or companies of lawbreakers, glorying in impunity, receives from them, and from the sycophants about him, an adulation not only excessive in its degree, but of a kind which, to an unbiased mind, may seem to border on profanity. To compare him with the Scripture worthies generally is not enough. Claiming, under the new-fangled Roman religion, to possess in his single hands all the governing powers of the Redeemer over his Church, it is also in the sufferings of Christ alone that he and his worshipers—he with some little excuse, they with hardly any—find a fit standard of comparison for what he has to endure. Now as to his own sufferings, we have no doubt he must

suffer much, when he looks abroad over the Christian world, and reckons up the results of what the most distinguished of our Roman Catholic laymen, in a lecture to the Roman Catholics of a midland town, recently and justly called the longest and most disastrous Pontificate on record. But the sufferings mentioned incessantly in this book are the sufferings pretended to be inflicted by the Italian kingdom upon the so-called Prisoner of the Vatican. Let us see how, and with what daring misuse of Holy Scripture, they are illustrated in the authorized work before us. 'He and his august consort,' says Don Pasquale, speaking of the Count and Countess de Chambord, 'were profoundly moved at such great afflictions which the *Lamb of the Vatican* (*L'Agnello del Vaticano*, ii. 545) has to endure.'

On the 23d of March, 1873 (ii. 291), the Pope draws a picture of the Apostles repairing to our Lord, and desired by Him to take their rest around Him. He proceeds :

'Even now there is a parallel to this ; when from different parts of the Catholic world the bishops and missionaries repair to Rome that they may give account of their missions to the present most unworthy Vicar of Jesus Christ, and find within the narrow limits of the Vatican an interval of rest from their labors.'

On the 3d of July, 1871 (i. 131), the Pope reminds his ex-employés of the solemn words used by St. Thomas when he proposed to accompany his Master to death : 'Let us also go, that we may die with him' (John xi. 16). 'You,' he says, 'are they who this morning resemble those faithful followers of Jesus Christ, in your visit to the foot of the Pontifical throne.' On the 5th of August, 1871, he is visited by the *Figlie di Maria*, and again he compares their visit to the act of the Blessed Virgin and her companions, who stood by the Cross of Christ (ii. 212). He adds : 'It is not, however, true that on my Calvary I suffer the pains which Jesus Christ suffered on his ; and only in a certain sense can it be said that in me there is renewed in figure all that was in fact accomplished on the divine person of the Redeemer.' Even so he quotes the inexpressibly solemn words of our Lord at the moment of his capture (John xviii. 9) : 'I am the Vicar of Jesus Christ, and I have the right to employ the very words of Jesus Christ. My Father, those whom thou hast given me I will not lose (*quos dedisti mihi, non perdam*).'¹

¹ It is strange to observe that the words quoted by the Pope do not correspond with the Vulgate (ed. Frankfort, 1826, with the approbation of Leo XII.), either in John xviii. 9, where

It is futile to attempt a defense of language such as this by alleging that, according to the beautiful observation of St. Augustine, Christ is relieved in his poor, and that, according to the yet loftier teaching of St. Paul, the measure of his sufferings is filled up in his saints. Where St. Paul withheld his foot, Pius IX. does not fear to tread. Where St. Paul gave the catalogue of his sufferings, no less truthful than terrible (2 Cor. xi. 23-27), he did not call them his Calvary, as the Pope calls his voluntary sojourn within the walls of a noble palace which is open to all the world, and which he can inhabit, leave, re-enter, when and as he pleases. When he recorded the good deeds of Priscilla and Aquila, who for his life had exposed their own (Rom. xvi. 3), he did not compare even these noble sacrifices with the ministries rendered in the Gospels, by her whom the Pope teaches us to deem the holiest of women, to the Son of God himself. His sublimity is ever as simple, natural, and healthy as the daring and stilted phrases of the modern Vatican are the reverse.

If the Pope sees in his own official character such high personal titles and such nearness to Christ, it can be no wonder that he should raise those titles which are official to an extraordinary altitude. He does not, indeed, quite emulate in all points the astounding language of Don Pasquale, who always goes mad in white linen when the Pope goes mad in white satin.¹ Yet he says (ii. 265), 'Keep, my Jesus, through the instrumentality of the successors of the Apostles through the instrumentality of the clergy, this flock, that God has given to *you and to me.*'

No wonder, then, as he is thus partner with Christ in a separate and transcendent sense, that he should give us as a rule for our Italian politics, Whoever is for me, is for God (*Chi è con me, è con Dio*). It may be thought that this is the assumption which all Christian men should make. But that is not his opinion. When similar manifestations of

it reads *quos dedisti mihi, non perdi ex eis quemquam*, or in John xvii. 12, where the words are *quos dedisti mihi, custodivi*.

¹ In speaking of the probable condition of Ratazzi in the other world (ii. 342), the Pope says he knows not what his fate may be, and is satisfied with calling him *questo infelice*. Don Pasquale, on the other hand (p. 348), says that the Pope being the Supreme Judge in the Church, was thereby entitled to pronounce a sentence far more definite and terrific on the unhappy sectarian, but was pleased to hide his judgment under the inscrutable veil of the judgments of God.

piety are hazarded on behalf of the Italian Government, mildly to consecrate their cause, which is after all the cause of a great nation, he executes summary justice (ii. 317) upon such pretenses. 'Somebody has had the boldness to write, "God is not on the side of the Pope, but on the side of Italy." This assertion, *somewhat impudent*, is contrary to the facts. And first of all I shall say that, if Italy is with God, then assuredly she is with his Vicar.' It is all of a piece. Nothing but the superhuman is good enough for the Pope; and in the next edition of the Roman religion probably even this will not do. We have already shown where Don Pasquale, an accomplished professor of flunkeyism in things spiritual, calls the Pope outright by the term 'inspired.' Again, in presenting his volumes to Count de Chambord (ii. 547), he has it thus:

'Nel gran volume, ove il Divin fecondo
Spirito, parlando Pio, suo verbo detta.'

Nor can it be said that the Pope himself, here at least, falls short of his obsequious editor, when we observe the view he takes of his own authority as matched with that of an inspired prophet; even of him whom God 'sent unto David' (i. 364), and who professed to tell out to the King the very words which the Lord had given him (2 Sam. vii. 1-14). To the parishioners of two Roman parishes, he as 'their Sovereign,' explains the misconduct and false position, not of Italy only, but of the governments generally: he coolly, after his manner, appropriates to himself the words of our Lord, 'He that is not with me, is against me;' and then, apparently under some strange paroxysm of excitement, he proceeds (i. 365):

'You have, then, my beloved children, the few words which I desired to say to you. But I go farther. My wish is that all governments should know that I am speaking in this strain. I wish that they should know it, inasmuch as I do it for their good. And I have the right to speak, *even more than Nathan the prophet to David the King (anche più che Natan profeta al Re Davide)*, and a great deal more than Ambrose had to Theodosius.'

The comparison with St. Ambrose, and his memorable and noble proceedings, is pragmatism enough; but it is entirely eclipsed by the monstrous declaration by the Pope of his superiority to an inspired teacher. We spoke some pages back of sighs or shrugs as the signs of emotion which the Papal utterances, reported in the public journals, have from time to time suggested. But if Christendom still believes in Christianity, this audacity, of which Exeter Hall will indeed exult

to hear, is far beyond either sighs or shrugs: it more fitly may cause a shudder.

This daring assumption, however, is not an accident or a caprice; it is, as it were, a normal result of the Pope's habitual and morbid self-contemplation, of monstrous flattery perpetually administered, and, yet more, of that ecclesiastical system which is gradually (and, we must hope, without any distinct consciousness) raising the personal glorification of the Pope towards the region of a Divine worship, due from men to one who, in these volumes, is not only the official Vicar, but also, in some undefined way, the personal Representative of God on earth (see *e.g.* i. 430; ii. 165). Not only is his person sacred generally, but we have the sacred hand (i. 297), and the sacred foot (ii. 56, 192, 357)—nay, even the *most* sacred foot (ii. 330). Well may Dr. Elvenich¹ say there seems to be meditated a Pope-worship (Papstcult), to stand beside the God-worship. Of the things we are bringing to view, many are so strange that they can hardly at once be believed. In this instance, as in others, the true passes beyond the ordinary limits of the credible.

A subordinate part of this system is to be found in the curious coquetry which the work exhibits to the world with reference to the assumption of the title 'Pius the Great.' In dispersed places of the volumes it is applied—as well it may be to a Pope who is termed in them himself a prodigy and a miracle. These precedents, carefully gathered, may hereafter form an important element in some *catena* demonstrative of a general *consensus* of mankind. But, moreover, it seems that the Marchese Cavaletti, a leading *Papalino*, made known to the Pope that good Catholics (a phrase which here means flaming Ultramontanes) desired to pay him two new honors. One of them was to adjoin to his name the title of *Il Grande* (ii. 484–87). We may, perhaps, refer to another scene, acted 1800 years ago, not far from the Vatican, and recorded by Shakespeare:

'*Casca*. There was a crown offered him: and being offered him, he put it by with the back of his hand, thus; and then the people fell a shouting. . . .

'*Brutus*. Was the crown offered him thrice?

'*Casca*. Aye, marry, was't; and he put it by thrice, every time gentler than other.'—*Julius Cæsar*, i. 2.

So the Pope gives three reasons, as they may be called, for declin-

¹ *Der unfehlbare Papst*. Breslau, 1874–5.

ing, or rather for not accepting; 'every reason gentler than other.' The first is that our Saviour when called 'Good Master,' replied 'that God alone is good.' The second, that 'God is great and worthy to be praised.' The third admits that three truly great Pontiffs did receive this title, but only when they were dead and gone, and when the judgments of men were therefore more calm and clear. Rather a broad hint for the proper time when it arrives.

But it is time to turn, with whatever reluctance, to the truculent and wrathful aspect, which unhappily prevails over every other in these Discourses.

In order, however, fully to appreciate this portion of the case, it is necessary to bear in mind that the *cadres*, or at least the skeletons and relics, of the old Papal Government over the Roman States are elaborately and carefully maintained;¹ and it appears to be one of the main purposes of the 'alms' collected from the members of the Papal Church all over the world, as doubtless they are aware, to feed ex-custom-house officers, ex-postmasters, and ex-policemen. All these in their turn, and the representatives of several other departments, have from time to time been received by the Pope in solemn deputation, and reap their full share of compliment, if not as martyrs, yet as confessors of the Church. The police, indeed, who in Italy have had but an unsavory reputation, and in Rome were notoriously the scum of the earth, have, notwithstanding, been deemed worthy to lead the van (i. 46) on the 20th of January, 1871. The ex-functionaries of the Post-Office follow on February 5 (p. 50), and are gravely assured by his Holiness that the Catholic public are every where in fond admiration of the conduct of the ex-employés, and that their noble conduct echoes through every portion of the world! With a force of imagination such as this, it never can be difficult to make a case into what one wishes it to be. The Register-Office follows, with the Stamp Department, and alas! the Lottery, on the 9th of March (p. 71); and a very conspicuous place is given to the repeated military deputations (i. 69, 87, 99).

¹ We have seen it stated from a good quarter that no less than three thousand persons, formerly in the Papal employ, now receive some pension or pittance from the Vatican. Doubtless they are expected to be forthcoming on all occasions of great deputations, as they may be wanted, like the *supers* and dummies at the theatres.

We must carefully bear in mind that none of these appear at the Vatican as friends, as co-religionists, as receivers of the Pontiff's alms, or in any character which could be of doubtful interpretation. They appear as being actually and at the moment his subjects, and his military and civil servants respectively, although only in *disponibilità*, or (so to speak) on furlough; they are headed by the proper leading functionaries, and the Pope receives them as persons come for the purpose of doing homage to their Sovereign (pp. 88, 365). Thickly set among all these appear the deputations of the Roman aristocracy. True, its roll is not complete; for by far the most distinguished member of the body, the able, venerable, and highly cultivated Duke of Sirmoneta, is a loyal subject of the Italian Kingdom. As to the residue (so to call them), they are those of whom Edmund About sarcastically said, *Hélas! les pauvres gens! ils n'ont pas même de vices!* They constitute, however, a mainstay of the Papal hope. It was to them he announced (i. 147-8) that Aristocracy and Clergy were the true props of thrones, that plebeian support was naught, and that Jesus Christ loved the aristocracy, and belonged to it—in a somewhat wide construction of the word it must be owned.

But, if we are to accept the statements of this approved Reporter, the popular gatherings were frequent, and not more frequent than remarkable, in the halls of the Vatican. One or two parishes would yield deputations said to consist of 1000 or 1500 persons. But the numbers assembled often, as we shall see, went far beyond this mark. Great masses of persons were, and, we presume, still are encouraged to congregate in the Vatican for the purpose of presenting most seditious and rebellious Addresses, and of hearing highly sympathetic Replies.

We should have supposed it impossible that the language of treason against Italy could go beyond the license of these volumes. In a few cases, however, our editor informs us that it has been thought right, once under the direct order of the highest personage concerned, to keep back from the press some portion of the language used (ii. 299). What has been published is certainly flagrant up to the highest degree of flagrancy yet known in the annals of the Popedom or the world; though it may be reserved for Pius IX. in this point, as in others, to surpass his predecessors, as they have surpassed the rest of men. The Discourses generally, and all the daring defiance of law which, with

the Addresses, they contain, are ordinarily reproduced in the *Osservatore Romano*; and words spoken in the air, or taken from private manuscripts, are thus at once converted into the grossest offenses against public order that a press can commit.¹

And all this is borne and allowed by the tyrannical Italian Government, which keeps the Pope a 'prisoner,' and under which, as the Pope declares, 'for good men and for Catholics liberty does not exist' (*questa libertà per gli uomini onesti e pei Cattolici non esiste*, ii. 25).

We have already glanced at the nature of the audiences to which are addressed the speeches we are now about to describe, as far as samples can describe them. We turn to the speeches themselves. 'What boldness,' says the Prince Consort, speaking of the King of Prussia in 1847,² 'in a king to speak extempore!' With his sagacious mind, had he seen what a Pope could do, he would have been tempted to double or treble his notes of admiration.

It is hardly possible to convey to the mind of the reader an adequate idea of the wealth of vituperative power possessed by this really pious Pontiff. But it is certainly expended with that liberality which is so strictly enjoined by the Gospel upon all the rich. The Italian Government and its followers, variously in their various colors, are wolves; perfidious (ii. 83); Pharisees (i. 254, 380); Philistines (ii. 322); thieves (ii. 34, 65); revolutionists (i. 365, and *passim*); Jacobins (ii. 150, 190); sectarians (i. 334); liars (i. 365; ii. 156); hypocrites (i. 341; ii. 179); drop-sical (ii. 66); impious (*passim*); children of Satan (ii. 263); of perdition, of sin (i. 375), and corruption (i. 342); enemies of God (i. 288, 332, 380); satellites of Satan in human flesh (ii. 326); monsters of hell, demons incarnate (i. 215, 332; ii. 404); stinking corpses (ii. 47); men issued from the pits of hell (i. 104, 176—these are the conductors of the national press); traitor (i. 198); Judas (*ibid.*); led by the spirit of hell

¹ It is also to be observed that we know from other sources of at least one deputation to the Pope which has been omitted by Don Pasquale from the record. See the Report of the Council of the League of St. Sebastian for 1872, read at General Meeting, January 20, 1873, p. 5: 'On June 21 a deputation from the League had the honor of an audience with the Sovereign Pontiff, and presented an address of congratulation and sympathy. The deputation was introduced by the Hon. and Right Rev. Monsignore Stonor, and was composed of Count de la Poer, M.P., Captain Coppinger, Mr. Winchester, and Mr. Vansittart. On this occasion, as on the last, the Holy Father bestowed his blessing on the League and all connected with it.'

² *Life of the Prince Consort*, i. 407.

(i. 311); teachers of iniquity (i. 340—these are evangelical ministers in their ‘diabolical’ halls); hell is unchained against him (ii. 387), even its deepest pits (i. 368; ii. 179). Nearly, if not quite, every one of these words is from the Pope’s own lips; and the catalogue is not exhaustive. Yet he invites children, and not children only, but even his old postmen and policemen, to keep a watch over their tongue! (*custodendo generosamente la lingua*, ii. 125). To call these flowers of speech is too much below the mark—nay, they are of themselves a flower-garden—nay, they are a *Flora*, fit to stock a continent afresh, if every existing species should be extinct. It may be thought that other illustrations may seem, after these, but flat and stale; nevertheless we must resume. What remains will be found worthy of what has preceded.

After what we have shown of the relation which the Pontiff imagines to subsist between himself and the person of our Lord, it may seem to be a condescension on his part when he compares himself, or complacently allows himself to be compared, to such characters as David or Tobias or Job. Perhaps these are introduced by way of set-off to the representations of the unfortunate Victor Emmanuel, who in the mouth sometimes of the Pope, and sometimes of those who address his delighted ear, is Holofernes, as in ii. 143, or Absalom (in conduct, not in attractions), as in ii. 143, or Pilate, Herod, Caiaphas (i. 461), or Goliath (ii. 301), or Attila. But it may be thought our citations thus far have been mere phrases torn from the context; and the height to which the inflammatory style of speech is capable of soaring will be more justly understood if we quote one or two passages. Let us begin with vol. ii. p. 77:

‘Woe, then, to him and to them who have been the authors of so great scandal. The soil usurped will be as a volcano, that threatens to devour the usurpers in its flames. The petitions of millions of Catholics cry aloud before God, and are echoed by those of the protecting saints who sit near the throne of the Omnipotent himself, and point out to Him the profanations, the impieties, the acts of injustice, and make their appeal to God’s remedies; but to those remedies which proceed forth from the treasures of His infinite justice.’

The Papal thought shall be allowed to develop itself by degrees. Giving his blessing to a deputation of youths, he desires it may accompany them through life, and when they yield their souls to God.

‘The soul, too, will the impious yield; but will yield it, as Abraham said to the rich Glutton (Did he? Not in Luke xvi. 25, 26), ‘to pass into an eternity of suffering, amid the din of the blasphemies of the devils who bear that soul to hell’ (i. 430).

But who, it may be asked, are these ‘impious,’ whose breath has the

stench of a putrid sepulchre? (i. 341.) The answer is more easy than agreeable. They are simply the Liberals of Italy. This is the favorite word for them, and a phrase almost exclusively indeed appropriated to their use. One passage in particular fixes the meaning beyond doubt. The Holy Father says (i. 286): 'In Rome, not only is it attempted to diffuse impiety all around, but men *even* dare to teach heresy, and to spread unbelief.' Now as impiety proper is the last and worst result of heresy or unbelief, it is strange at first sight to find it placed on a lower grade in the scale of sins. But when we remember that in these volumes it simply means Italian liberalism, the natural order of ideas is perfectly restored.

To a popular audience, from the parish of San Giovanni de' Fiorentini, he says (i. 374):

'At the top of the pyramid is One, who depends on a Council that rules him; the Council is not its own master, but depends on an Assembly that threatens it. The Assembly is not its own master, for it must render an account to a thousand devils who have chosen it, and who drive it along the road of iniquity; and the whole of them together, or at any rate the chief part, are bondmen, are slaves, are children of sin: the Angel of God follows them up, and with bared sword menaces those who pretend to be so much at their ease. The day will come when the destroying Angel will cause to be known the justice of God, and the effect of His mercies.'

What and for whom His mercies are will be seen shortly. To certain Clubs Pius IX. says (ii. 421, *bis*):

'The Cross, appearing in that valley of final judgment, will crush, with the mere view of it, both Deputies and Ministers, *and some one else (altri) set higher still*; and all those who have abused the patience of the Eternal. At the sight of that Tree will tremble all the world, and the peoples bowed down to earth will implore the mercy of the divine Redeemer, and will trust in him; but *certain persons, to whom I have alluded*, and that are now in power for the ruin of Church and people, will utter cries of despair and trouble, inasmuch as there will be no mercy for them.'

The door of conversion and return, indeed is not yet closed, and frequent prayers are offered for them; but the continued support of Liberalism and Italian nationality can only end in the manner of which the Pope has given so telling a description. Thus, for example (i. 224):

'Ah! even upon these I invoke, yet again, the mercy of the Lord, that He may convert them, and they may live! But I say at the same time, if at all hazards they persist in refusing the light of divine grace, well may God at length accomplish that which in His justice He has resolved to do.'

A word in summing up this portion of our notice. It was not by words of scorn that Christ began the Sermon on the Mount. It is not

by words of scorn that the Pope will revive the flagging and sinking life of Christian belief in Italy, or will put down the spirit of nationality now organized and consolidated, or will convert the world. It would be well if he would take to himself the words of a living English poet:

‘For in those days
No knight of Arthur’s noblest dealt in scorn;
But if a man were halt or hunched, in him
By those whom God had made full-limbed and tall
Scorn was allowed as part of his defect,
And he was answered softly by the King
And all his table.’¹

As might be expected, the Addresses to the Pope are not tuned to a lower pitch than his Replies. There are hardly any among them which do not contain the language, commonly the most burning language, of treason and of sedition. Manhood, womanhood, childhood, all sing in the same key. Innocence and sedition, as we have already observed, join hands. The little one, who has but just completed a single lustre, announces in the poem she recites (ii. 406) the restoration of the Temporal Power over Italy and the whole world:

‘Poco tempo ancora, e Pro
Regnerà sul mondo intero.’

The lips are the lips of infancy, but the tune has the true ring of the *Curia*. But there are important distinctions to be observed. Even distant observers may appreciate the wisdom with which the Government of Italy leaves to the Pope a perfect freedom to speak his mind on the laws, the throne, and the constituted order of the country. If such freedom exists we can not well expect it to be used in any way but one, though the use certainly might have well been restrained to less frequent occasions and a more civilized range of language. However, let this pass; and let every allowance be made for Papal partisans among those once his subjects. But what are we to say of the sense of public propriety among foreigners—Englishmen, we regret to say, included in the number—who travel from distant countries, and abuse the immunity thus accorded to offer public and gross insult to the Italian Government, under whose protection and hospitality they are living? Perhaps the most inordinate example of

¹ Tennyson’s *Guinevere*.

this very indecent abuse is in the 'most noble Catholic députation of all nations,' which made its appearance in the Vatican on the 7th of March, 1873, and which was headed by Prince Alfred Lichtenstein (ii. 257). In their address they denounce 'the most ignoble violation of the law of nations' by the Italian Government, their 'execrable crime,' their 'hypocritical assurances,' and so forth. Not content even with this outrage, they proceed to denounce, of their own authority, all ideas of compromise or adjustment, for which the Government of Italy had always been seeking.

'With the enemies that rage against you, Holy Father, and against the religious orders, no reconciliation is possible. War, waged by such enemies, is not terrible: the only thing to be dreaded in this case is peace. [Bravo! bravo! bravo!] No doubt they would be right glad to conclude with you a perfidious compromise; they ardently desire it.'

And then with incomparable taste on the part of such Englishmen as were present towards the King of Italy, the Ally of Her Majesty, 'No, no; Peter, alive in your person, will be ever admirable in his heroic resolution against Herod' (ii. 257-9).

After more slang of the same kind—from persons acting thus entirely beyond their right, this language deserves no better name—and a glowing eulogy on the Syllabus and the Encyclical, the addressers give place to the addressed, who assures them that all they have said is true, though some of it severe (*ibid.* 261). Have any of these gentlemen, princes and others, considered what sort of protection their own Governments would be able to afford them if the Italian Government should think fit to take proceedings against them, or to expel them summarily, and rather ignominiously, from its territory, as enemies of the public peace?

It is now time to examine by such lights as we possess what is really the actual state of things in Rome, which furnishes the occasion for the violent and almost furious denunciations of the Pope; and to inquire also what would be the state of things which he desires to have established in its stead.

The condition in which he thinks himself to be is that he is a prisoner in the Vatican; while outside its walls are ruin, oppression, revolution, confusion, and unrestrained blasphemy and profligacy. And what he desires is simply the restoration of freedom and of peace. It will not be at all difficult to perceive what the Pope signifies by free-

dom and peace, or by what means they are to be attained ; but first a word on the actual condition of Rome. It never had the name, under the Popes, of a very well-ordered city. The Pontiff, however, speaks of it as having been under his dominion holy ; whereas now it is a sink of corruption, and devils walk through the streets of it. Now, except upon this authority of one who knows nothing except at second-hand, nothing except as he is prompted by the blindest partisans, it seems totally impossible to discover any evidence that Rome of 1874 is worse than Rome before the occupation, or worse than other large European cities. And this really is a question, not of dogmatism or of declamation, but of testimony ; and not of the testimony of prejudiced assertion, but of facts and figures. To this test the condition of every city can be brought, with more or less of approach to precision ; except, indeed, under a system like that of the Papal Government, when the press was enslaved, and the stint of public information was such that even a copy of the Tariff of Customs Duties was not to be had in Rome (as happens to be within our knowledge) for love or money. Now these odious charges that a peculiar immorality and utter disorder prevail in Rome are launched by the Pope with such vagueness that if they came from a less exalted personage they would at once be called scurrilous and scandalous, and it would be said, here is a common railer who, having no basis of fact for his statements, takes refuge in those cloudy generalities, under color of which fact and figment are indistinguishable from each other. After taking some pains to make inquiry from impartial sources, we are able to state that the police of the national Rome is superior to that of Papal Rome, that order is well maintained, crime energetically dealt with.

It is known that at the time of the forcible occupation in 1870 a number of bad characters streamed into the city ; but by energetic action on the part of the Government, ill-supported we fear by the clergy, they were, by degrees, got rid of, and soon ceased to form a noticeable feature in the condition of the place. For ostensible morality the streets will compare favorably with the Boulevards of Paris, and for security they may generally challenge the thoroughfares of London. We cite a few words from a very recent and dispassionate account :

‘The police of Rome is far better than the old Papal police ; order is better kept, and out-

rages in the streets are of rare occurrence. Crime is promptly repressed. . . . The theatres are not much frequented, and are neither worse nor better than such places elsewhere. The city is clean and well kept. There are not half the number of priests or friars in the streets, and mendicancy is not a tenth part of what it was formerly.'

We are entitled, indeed, to waive entering upon any more minute particulars until the charges have been lodged, with some decent attention to presumptions of credibility. But it has been our care to obtain from Rome itself some figures, on which reliance may be placed. They indicate the comparative state of Roman crime in the two last full years of the Papal rule (1868, 1869), and the three full years (1871, 1872, 1873) of the Italian rule:

	1868.	1869.	1871.	1872.	1873.
Highway robberies.....	236	123	103	85	26
Thefts.....	802	714	785	859	698
Crimes of violence.....	938	886	972	861	603
Total.....	1976	1723	1860	1805	1327

In 1870, which was a mixed year, and does not assist the comparison, and which was also a year of crisis, the total was 2118, and the crimes of violence (*reati di sangue*) were no less than 1175. It will be observed that these figures confute the statements of the Pope. The two first of the Italian years were affected by the cause to which we have referred; but still their average is lower than that of the two last years in which Rome was still the 'holy' city, and in which devils did not walk the streets of it. The average of the three years is 1665, against 1723 in the last Papal year. The year 1873, in which alone we may consider that the special cause of disturbance had ceased to operate, shows a reduction of 391, or more than 22 per cent., on the last year of the Pope. Yet more remarkable is the comparison if we strike out the category of thefts, the least serious of the three in kind. We then obtain the following figures: For the last Papal year, 1869, 1009; for 1873, 634; or a diminution of nearly 40 per cent.

* But while the accusations are thus shown to be utterly at variance with the facts, still they are intelligible. The cursing vocabulary, so to call it, which has been given, exhibits their character, though in a wild and wholly reckless manner. Where the passion shown is rather less overbearing, there is more of the daylight of ideas. And the idea every where conveyed is briefly this—that a state of violence prevails.

There is no liberty for honest men or for Catholics (ii. 25): matters go from bad to worse. What is wanted is that God should liberate his Church, give her the triumph (this is the favorite phrase) which is her due, and re-establish public order (i. 44); it is to escape from this state of violence and oppression, which, in simple truth (*davvero*), is insupportable and impossible for human nature (ii. 54). As for the Pope himself, who does not know, so far as Ultramontane organs all over the world can convey knowledge, that he is a prisoner? Although, it must be confessed, that a new sense of the word has had to be invented to serve his turn; for, as he himself has explained, his prison is a prison with only moral walls and bars, since he admits there are neither locks nor keepers (i. 298). How, with his sense of humor—how, in making these statements, must he inwardly have smiled the smile of the Haruspex at the gross credulity of his hearers! He can not go out; and he will not (i. 75). He would be insulted in the streets (i. 298); and here, fortunately, he has a case in point to adduce, for once upon a day it happened that a priest had actually been pelted; and somewhere else (i. 467) it appears that an urchin or two had been heard to shout '*morte ai preti*'—down with the priests: though in no instance does he show that, even if a stone were thrown, the public authority had refused or tampered with its duty to afford protection to layman and priest alike.

However, as we have seen, the Pope's allegations of oppression and violence are in terms very grave. But his own lips and his own volumes unconsciously supply the confutation; and this in two ways: for, first, it is clear, if we accept the statements of this curious and daring work, that the people of Rome are almost wholly on his side against the Government, not on the side of the Government and the nation against him. A careful computation of the editor (ii. 187) reckons, certainly to the full satisfaction of all Ultramontane readers, that seventy-one thousand of the inhabitants of Rome (in a city of some two hundred thousand, old and young, men and women, all told) have given their names to addresses against the suppression of the religious orders (ii. 187)—a certain sign of Papalism. But there is yet more conclusive evidence. On January 16, 1873, the whole College of the Parish Priests of Rome presented an address, in which they state that, notwithstanding the influence of intruded foreigners, almost the whole of their former parishioners (*nella quasi totalità*), whom they know by name, still keep the

right faith, send their children to the right schools, and remain, subject to but few exceptions, 'with the Pope, and for the Pope.' 'I thank Thee, my God, for the spirit that Thou impartest to this excellent people: I thank Thee for the constancy that Thou givest to the people of Rome' (i. 352, also 229). And yet an urchin, or perhaps two, or even three, cry '*morte ai preti*,' and the Pope dare not go out of the Vatican, although he has seventy-one thousand Romans declared by their signatures, and 'almost the entire body of parishioners,' except the new-come foreigners, for his fast allies and loyal defenders! It is really idle to talk of dark ages. There never was, until the nineteenth century and the Council of the Vatican, an age so deeply plunged in darkness worthy of Erebus and Styx, as could alone render it a safe enterprise to palm statements like these on the credulity even of the most bleared-eyed partisanship.

But then, it may be said, in vain are the people with the Pope; a tyrannical Government, supported by hordes of *sbirri* and a brutal soldiery, represses the manifestations of their loyalty by intimidation. But this allegation is cut to pieces, and if possible rendered even more preposterous than the other, by the evidence of the volumes themselves. One exception there appears to have been to the good order of Rome: one single form, in which a kind of anarchy certainly has been permitted. This flagrant exception, however, has been made, not against, but in favor of the Pope. For, strange and almost incredible as it may appear, his partisans are allowed to gather in the face of day, and proceed to the Vatican for the purpose of presenting addresses to the Pontiff known to be almost invariably rife with the most flagrant sedition, and this in numbers not only of a few tens or even hundreds, but even up to 1500, 2000 (i. 242, 258, 353), 2600 (i. 362, 411), 3000 (ii. 92), who shouted all at once, and even (ii. 94) 5000 persons; and again (i. 438), a crowd impossible to count. It may be asked with surprise, Has the Pope, then, at any rate a presentable train of five thousand adherents in Rome? Far be it from us to express an implicit belief in each of our friend Don Pasquale's figures, at the least until they are affirmed by a declaration *ex cathedrâ* or a Conciliary Decree. But in Rome, where the vast body of secular and regular clergy have held so large a proportion of the real property, where all the public establishments were closely associated with the clerical interest and class, where even the

numerous functionaries of the civil departments, and where the aristocracy, including families of great wealth, have been, and continue to be, of the Papal party, a long train of dependents must necessarily be found on the same side; and, judging from what we have seen and known, we deem it quite possible that in the entire city a minority of Papalini numbering as many as, or even more than, five thousand might be reckoned, though of independent citizens we doubt whether there are five hundred. To these civic adherents would add themselves foreigners, whose zeal or curiosity may have carried them to Rome for the purpose. We have, indeed, learned from an authoritative source that on June 16, 1871, when there were no less than eight Deputations, the Pope received at the Vatican in all about 6200 persons. We find also that the total number of those who waited on him in 1871, on only fourteen separate days (which, however, certainly included all the occasions of crowded gatherings), were estimated carefully at 13,893; and in 1872, on the same number of occasions, at 17,477. In the two following years the numbers have been much less, namely, 8295 and 9129 respectively. It is quite plain that large crowds—crowds sufficient to give ample ground for interference on the score of order to any Government looking for or willing to use them—again and again have filled the vast halls of the Vatican, as Don Pasquale assures us. That they went there to stir up or prepare (as far as it depended upon them) war, either immediate or eventual, against the Italian Government, is established by every page of these volumes. Going in such numbers, and for such a purpose, it is not disputed that they have gone and returned freely, safely, boastfully, under the protection of the laws they were breaking and of the Government they reviled.

It may perhaps seem strange that, while the Italian Government is treated as if the Pope were a Power in actual war with it, yet the *Curia* apparently can stoop to communicate with it for certain purposes, which it will be interesting to observe. We have, for instance, in the Appendix (ii. 419) a letter of the Cardinal Vicar to the Minister Lanza, complaining, as the Pope in his Speeches complains, of the immorality of the Roman theatres.

It complains also that the clerical orders are not spared in the exhibitions of the stage. This is a subject on which the *Curia* has always been very much in earnest; and some day it may be necessary to

bring before the modern public the almost incredible, but yet indubitable, history of the negotiations and arrangements which were made by the State of Florence with the See of Rome in relation to the 'Decameron' of Boccaccio. But for the present let us take only the point of immorality. The broadest accusations on this subject are lodged by the Cardinal Vicar, without one single point or particular of places, pieces, persons, or times which would have enabled the Italian Government to put their justice to the proof. The Minister, in his reply, could not do more than he has actually done. He declares that the Italian Censorship is remarkable for strictness; and that in Italy, and particularly in Rome, many pieces are prohibited which are permitted in France and in Belgium. And of this there is no denial. With a thorough shabbiness of spirit, the complaint is neither justified nor retracted, but is sent forth to the world with the full knowledge that the good (*i buoni*) will take it as a demonstration that the Italian Government is wholly indifferent to morals (ii. 419-424).

Again, we have a complaint of the non-observance of Sundays and feast-days; but the effort of this kind which most deserves notice is one relating to blasphemy. It appears that the newspaper *La Capitale* had been publishing piecemeal a Life of our Lord, written in the Unitarian sense. The Cardinal Vicar represented to the Procurator-General (ii. 520) that this ought to be prosecuted as blasphemous and heretical. It is not stated that he founded himself on the manner of the writer's argument, and therefore it may be presumed that the charge lay against his conclusions only. The Procurator-General replied that the law granted liberty of religious discussion, and that accordingly he could not interfere. The Advocate Caucino, of Turin—whose Address to the Pope is almost the only one in the whole work that does not contain direct incentives to sedition (ii. 313)—gave a professional opinion to a contrary effect. He pointed out that the Roman Catholic religion was by the Constitutional Statute the religion of the State, and that other laws actually in force provided punishments for offenses against religion. Consequently, as he reasoned, these writings are illegal. Over nine hundred of the Italian lawyers have countersigned this opinion. One of his arguments is, to British eyes, somewhat curious. The laws, he says, declare the person of the Pontiff sacred and inviolable. 'But if you take away the Divinity of Jesus Christ, the Pontiff is reduced

to a nonentity (il Pontefice non è più *nulla*).’ It is difficult to avoid saying, one wishes that were the only consequence.

It would, perhaps, be uncharitable to suggest that this well-arranged endeavor was nothing else than a trap carefully laid for the Italian Government. But it certainly would have served the purpose of a trap. Had the denial of our Lord’s Divinity been repressed by law, by reason of its contrariety to the religion of the State, the next step would of course have been to require the Government to proceed in like manner against any one who denied the Infallibility of the Pope. Under the Vatican Decrees this is as essentially and imperatively a part of the Roman Creed as is the great Catholic doctrine of the Divinity of Christ. And the obligation to prohibit the promulgation of the adverse opinion would have been exactly the same. Nor is it easy to suppose that the *Curia* was not sharp enough to anticipate this consequence, and prepare the way for it.

Independently of such a plot, the paltry game of these representations is sufficiently intelligible. It seeks to place the King’s Government in a dilemma. Either they enforce restriction in the supposed interest of religion, or they decline to enforce it. In the first case, they diminish the liberties of the people, and provoke discontent; in the second, they afford fresh proof of ungodliness, and fresh matter of complaint to be turned sedulously to account by the political piety of the Vatican. But let us pass on from this small trickery; *paullò majora canamus*.

Considering, on the one hand, the professedly pacific and unworldly character of the successors of the ‘Fisherman,’ and on the other the gravity of those moral and social evils which are indeed represented as insupportable (ii. 54), an unbiased reader would expect to find in these pages constant indications of a desire on the part of the Pope and Court of Rome to effect, by the surrender of extreme claims, some at least tolerable adjustment. There was a time, within the memory of the last twenty years, when Pius IX. might have become the head of an Italian Federation. When that had passed, there was again a time at which he might have retained, under a European guarantee, the *suzeraineté*, as distinguished from the direct monarchy, of the entire States of the Church. When this, too, had been let slip, and after another contraction of the circle of possibilities, it was still probably open to him to retain the *suzeraineté* of the city of Rome itself, with free

access to the sea ; it was unquestionably within his choice, at any period down to 1870, to stipulate for the Leonine City, with a like guaranteed liberty of access, and with a permanent engagement that Rome never should become the seat of government or of Royal residence, so that there should not be two suns in one firmament. There was, in truth, nothing which the Pope might not have had assured to him, by every warranty that the friendliness of all Europe could command, except the luxury of forcing on the people of the Roman States a clerical government which they detested. The Pope preferred the game of 'double or quits.' And he now beholds and experiences the result.

But, notwithstanding what he sees and feels, that game is too fascinating to be abandoned. Instead of opening the door to friendly compromise, this is the very thing for the treatment of which the furnace of his wrath is ever seven times heated. 'Yes, my sons,' he says in a 'stupendous' (i. 268) discourse, and himself 'resplendent with a grandeur more than human' (269), to an 'innumerable multitude of the faithful, Roman and foreign' (266), whom he has already congratulated (283) on their readiness to give all, even *their blood*, for him—'Yes, my sons, draw into ever closer union, nor be arrested even for a moment by lying reports of an impossible "reconciliation." It is futile to talk of reconciliation. The Church can never be reconciled with error, and the Pope can not separate himself from the Church. . . . No; no reconciliation can ever be possible between Christ and Belial, between light and darkness, between truth and falsehood, between justice and the usurpation.'

This passage, by no means isolated, is, it must be admitted, rather 'superhuman.' The wrath of the aged Pontiff had, in fact, been stirred in a special way by some *abbominevoli immagini*,¹ some execrable

¹ Even from the heart of the Order of Jesuits there sounds a voice of protestation against the insane policy of the Pope: it is that of Curci, a well-known champion, for many long years, of the Papal cause against Gioberti and others. We learn from a pamphlet published on the part of the Italian Government, in reply to a violent and loosely written attack by the Bishop of Orleans (on the merits of which, in other respects, we are not in a condition fully to pronounce), that Padre Curci says it is idle to make a bugbear of conciliation; that much as he laments the departure of the mediæval ways (which perhaps he does not quite understand), they are gone; it is idle to suppose the past can be re-established in the Roman States, either by diplomatic mediation, political rearrangement, 'or even foreign intervention.' —*Les Rois Ecclésiastiques de l'Italie* (Paris, 1874), p. 74. It seems, then, that there is at least one way in which a Jesuit can forfeit his title to be heard at Rome, and that is if he speaks good-sense.

pictures, which were for him most profane. The editor explains to us what they were. Such is the unheard-of audacity of Italian Liberalism, and such its hatred and persecution of the Pope, that (ii. 285) a certain Verzaschi, living in the Corso No. 135, had for several days exhibited to public view a picture in which the Pope and the King of Italy were—we tremble as we write—embracing one another!

But if the Holy Father is thus decisive on the subject of visible representations which he conceives to be profane, we should greatly value his judgment, were there an opportunity of obtaining it, on another commodity of the same class, an Italian work, sold in Rome, and not a production of the hated Liberals. It is stamped '*Diritto di proprietà di Cleofe Ferrari*,' with an address in Rome, of which the particulars can not be clearly deciphered, but it is manifestly authentic.

It is a photograph of $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and it represents a double scene—one in the heavens above, one on the earth below. Above, and receding from the foreground, is one of those figures of the Eternal Father which we in England view with repugnance; but that is not the point. On the right hand of that figure stands, towards the foreground, the Blessed Virgin Mary, with the moon under her feet (Rev. xii. 1); on the left hand, and also towards the front, is Saint Peter, kneeling on one knee; but kneeling to the Virgin, not to God. In the scene below we have an elevated pedestal, with a group of figures nearer the eye and filling the foreground. On the pedestal is Pope Pius IX., in a sitting posture, with his hands clasped, his crown, the *Triregno*, on his head, and a stream of light falling upon him from a dove forming part of the upper combination, and representing of course the Holy Spirit. The Pope's head is not turned towards the figure of the Almighty. Round the pedestal are four kneeling figures, apparently representing the four great quarters of the globe, whose corporal adoration is visibly directed towards the Pontiff, and not towards the opened heaven. We omit some other details not so easily understood; and, indeed, the reader will by this time have had a sickening sufficiency of this sort of 'abominable images.' We commend this most profane piece of adulation to the notice of the Cardinal Vicar, as it will supply him with a very valuable topic in his next demand upon the Italian Government to prevent the public exhibition in Rome of what conveys an insult to religion.

The outburst we have quoted against all reconciliation is, as we have said, not an isolated one. Declarations essentially similar may be found in vol. i. 291 (Dec. 7, 1871), 498 (Letter to Cardinal Antonelli); ii. 279 (March 7, 1873, in an address of Bishops, accepted and lauded by the Pope).

Out of these two hundred and ninety Speeches, about two hundred and eighty seem to be addressed to the great political purpose which is now the main aim of all Papal effort—that of the triumph and liberation of the Church in Rome itself, and the re-establishment of peace.

When the Pope speaks of the liberation of the Church, he means merely this, that it is to set its foot on the neck of every other power; and when he speaks of peace in Italy, he means the overthrow of the established order—if by a reconversion of Italians to his way of thinking, well; but if not, then by the old and favorite Roman expedient, the introduction of foreign arms, invading the land to put down the national sentiment and to re-establish the temporal government of the clerical order.

Every where, when he refers to the times which preceded the annexations to Sardinia, and the eventual establishment of the Italian Kingdom, he represents them as the happy period of which every good man should desire the return. Even at the moderate suggestions of practical reform which were recommended to Gregory XVI. in the early part of his reign by the Five Great Powers, including the Austria of Metternich, he scoffs; and he appears to think that they brought down upon several of the recommending Sovereigns the judgment due to impiety.

Thus, on June 21, 1873, he says (ii. 356): ‘Let us pray for all; let us pray for Italy, that we may see her set free from her enemies, and restored to her former repose and tranquillity.’

Now there can be no doubt what he means by calm and tranquillity. He explains it in a passage when he has occasion to refer to the opening times and scenes of his ill-omened and ill-ordered reign: ‘Those times were troublous, just as are the present; but notwithstanding they produced, after no long while, an era of tranquillity and quietude’ (ii. 23).

The troubles, for troubles there were, arose from the efforts of a people, then without political experience, to right themselves under the un-

skillful handling of a ruler, who prompted movements he had no strength to control, and made promises he had no ability to perform. The tranquillity and quietude were found in the invasion of the State by a French army; in the siege and capture of the city, which its inhabitants and a few Italian sympathizers in vain struggled under Garibaldi to defend; and in an armed occupation which effectually kept down the people for seventeen and a half years; until there came, in 1866, a winter's morning, when at four o'clock the writer of these pages, by help of the struggling gas-lights in the gloom, saw the picked regiments of France wheel round the street corners of the queenly city, in their admirable marching trim, on the way to the railway station, and bethought him that in that evacuation there lay the seed of great events.

To those who have not carefully followed the fortunes of Italy and her rulers, it may seem strange that this last and worst extreme of tyranny, the maintenance of a Government, and that a clerical Government, by bayonets, and those foreign bayonets, should be spoken of by any man in his five senses, even though that man be a Pope, in any other terms than those of pain and shame, even if it were at the same time, as a supposed necessity, palliated or defended. But the Pope speaks of it with a coolness, an exultation (ii. 248), a yearning self-complacent desire, which would deserve no other name but that of a brutal inhumanity, were it not that he simply gives utterance to the inveterate tradition of the Roman *Curia*, and the tradition of a political party in Italy, which, as long as it had power, made foreign occupation an every-day occurrence, a standing remedy, a normal state.

In 1815, the Pope was brought back to Rome by foreign arms. But at that time it was by foreign arms that he had been kept out of his dominions. Cardinal Pacca, in his *Memoirs*, gives us to understand that the Pontiff was received by the people with their good will. It may have been so. But unhappily, after the great occasion of this restoration, all the mischief was done. Much of local self-government had existed in the Pontifical States before the French Revolution. It was now put down. Of the French institutions and methods the Pope retained only the worst—the spirit of centralization, and a police, kept not to repress crime, but to ferret out and proscribe the spirit of liberty. The high sacerdotal party prevailed over the moderate

counsels of Gonsalvi. And Farini, in his dispassionate History, gives the following account of the state of things even under Pius VII.:

'There was no care for the cultivation of the people, no anxiety for public prosperity. Rome was a cesspool of corruption, of exemptions, and of privileges: a clergy, made up of fools and knaves, in power; the laity slaves; the treasury plundered by gangs of tax-farmers and spies; all the business of government consisted in prying into and punishing the notions, the expectations, and the imprudences of the Liberals.'¹

The result was that, as the Pope's native army was then worthless and even ridiculous, and his foreign mercenaries insufficient in strength, the country was always either actually or virtually occupied by Austrian forces: virtually when not actually, because at those periods when the force had been withdrawn, it was ready, on the first signal of popular movement and Papal distress, to return. So we pass over the interval until the accession of Pius IX., and until the month of July, 1849. Then the Government of France, acting as we believe without the sanction of the public judgment, and in order to reward for the past and purchase for the future the electoral support of the Ultramontane party, assumed the succession to Austria in the discharge of her odious office of repression, and thus left it doubtful to the last whether her splendid services to Italy in 1859 were or were not outweighed by the cruel wrong done for so many years in the violent occupation of Rome. That office has long ago been finally and in good faith renounced by Austria, now the friend of Italy. Let us hope, for the sake of the peace of Europe, that it will never again be assumed by any other Power. It was, however, only the war of 1870 which caused the removal of the French force from Civita Vecchia. That seaport had been re-occupied shortly after the relinquishment of Rome in 1869. In July, 1870, the remonstrances of the Papal Government were met by a neat and telling reply from France. 'The fortunes of the war will be favorable, or they will be adverse. If the former, we can then protect you better than ever; if the latter, we must surely have our men to protect ourselves.'

Sad, then, as it is, and scarcely credible as it may appear, that this great officer of religion, who guides a moiety or thereabouts of Christendom, who

'Looks from his throne of clouds o'er half the world,'²

¹ Farini, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. i. ch. i.; English translation, vol. i. p. 17.

² Campbell's *Pleasures of Hope*.

is hopelessly implicated in the double error: first, that he makes the restoration of his temporal power a matter of religious duty and necessity; secondly, that he seeks the accomplishment of that bad end through the outrage of a foreign intervention against the people of Rome, and through the breaking up of the great Italian Kingdom.

For, indeed, it is plain enough that the assaults of the Pope, though especially directed against that portion of Italy which once formed the States of the Church, are by no means confined to such a narrow range. This approved work describes the Italian Royal Family, at the epoch of the occupation of Rome, as the *Principi di Piemonte* (i. 58); and the Pope assures a deputation from Naples that in his daily prayer he remembers the city, its people, its pastor, and its king—meaning the ex-king Francis II. (i. 118). What he prays is that the longed-for peace may be restored to that ‘kingdom.’ And in order that we may know what this peace is, another speech at a later date tells us he prays the Lord that that unfortunate kingdom may return to be that which it was formerly, namely, a kingdom of peace and prosperity (ii. 338). This is the language in which the Pope is not ashamed to speak of a Government founded upon the most gross and abominable perjury, cruel and base in all its detail to the last degree, and so lost in the estimation of the people, notwithstanding the existence of its powerful army, that Garibaldi was able in a red shirt to traverse the country as a conqueror, enter the capital, and take peaceable possession of the helm of State.

The kingdoms and states of the world are, in Romish estimation, divided into several classes. Let us put Italy alone in the first and lowest, as a State with which the Pope is undisguisedly at war. Next come the States which pursue a policy adverse to the Ultramontane system; after them, in the upward series, those not very numerous States with which Rome has no quarrels; next those from which it receives active adhesion or support. And at the head of all comes the Pope’s own vanished possession, now represented in his imaginary title to the States of the Church. For whereas the others rule by a *jus humanum*, he ruled by a *jus divinum*; and what is mere revolt or treason or rapine elsewhere, has in the Roman States the added guilt of sacrilege. And, indeed, as to revolt or rapine, the Pope treats them lightly enough. Nothing can be more curious in this respect than his

references to Germany. : The territory of the German Emperor was made up by acquisitions yet more recent than those which set up the Italian Kingdom, such as it existed before the war of 1870; and by a like process of putting down divers Governments which were in the Roman sense legitimate, and of absorbing their dominions. But the Pope boasts that he had not been at all squeamish on this score (i. 457), for he had announced to Prince Bismarck that the 'Catholics' had been in favor of the German Empire. When, however, the policy of that Empire was developed in a sense adverse to the Roman views, very different ideas as to its basis came into vogue; and the Pope's authorized editor denounces it as the embodied Paganism of Prussia, boldly predicts its early fall (ii. 135, comp. 66), and, speaking of the meeting of the three great potentates on a recent occasion, calls them the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, and 'the new one called of Germany' (*il nuovo detto di Germania*); which, by the way, he is not, for his title is, we believe, the German Emperor. In truth it seems that the legitimacy of every Government is measured by the single rule of its propensity to favor the policy of Rome. And while other Governments generally are here and there admonished, even when they are guilty of no sin of commission, as to the neglect of their duty to restore the Pope (i. 113), there is one which receives his warmest commendations. It is the 'glorious' Republic of the Equator, which, 'amid the complicity, by silence, of the Powers of Europe,' sent its poor, feeble bark (we mean its vocal bark, probably it possesses no other) across the Atlantic to proclaim—

'Auditum admissi risum teneatis, amici?'—

the principle of the restoration, by foreign arms, of the Papal throne.

In his desire for the realization of this happy dream, the Pope appears to be wound up to a sensitive irritability of expectation, and accordingly prophecy is liberally scattered over the pages of these volumes. Sometimes he does not know when it will be; sometimes it can not be long; sometimes he sees the very dawning of the happy day. These varying states of view belong, indeed, to the origin of what is called pious opinion, but to believe that the day will come is a matter of duty and faith.

'Yes, this change—yes, this triumph, will have to come; and it is matter of faith (*ed è di fede*). I know not if it will come in my lifetime, the lifetime of this poor Vicar of Jesus

Christ. I know that come it will. The rising again must take place—this great impiety must end' (ii. 82).

It is with glee that he inculcates the great duty of prayer, when a hopeful sign comes up on the far horizon: though that sign be no more than some notice given in the Chamber of France. On February 18, 1872, he says:

'At the earliest moment, offer prayer and sacrifice to God for another special object. About this time my affairs are to be the subject of discussion in the National Assembly of a great people; and there are those who will take my part. Let us, then, pray for this Assembly.'

And so forth (i. 352).

Taken by itself, a passage of this kind might be perfectly well understood as contemplating nothing beyond the limits of a simply diplomatic and even amicable intervention. But then the question arises, why, if diplomacy be in contemplation, are compromises and adjustments so passionately denounced? The answer is, that diplomacy is not in contemplation or in desire, but what is now perfectly well known in Europe as 'blood and iron.' No careful reader of this authoritative book can doubt that these are the means by which the great Christian Pastor contemplates and asks—aye, asks as one who thinks himself entitled to command—the re-establishment of his power in Rome. There is indeed a passage in which he, addressing his ex-policemen! deprecates an armed reaction, and declares the imputation to be a calumny. And so far as the gallantry of those policemen is concerned, according to all that used to be seen or heard of them, he is quite right. The reaction he desires, in this speech, is good education, respect to the Church and the priests. But this is the local reaction, the reaction *in piccolo*. 'As to what remains, God will do as He wills: reactions on the great scale (*reazioni in grande*) can not be in my hands, but are in His, on whom all depends.'

He shows, however, elsewhere and habitually, not only a great activity in seconding the designs of Providence in this matter, but a considerable disposition to take the initiative, if only he could. In words alone, it is true; but he has no power other than of words. Let us hear him address his soldiers, on the 27th of December, 1872 (ii. 141):

'You, soldiers of honor, attached by affection to this Holy See, constant in the discharge of your duties, come before me; but you still come unarmed, thus proving how evil are the times.'

'Oh, were I but able to conform to that voice of God which so many ages back cried to a people, "Turn your spades, turn your plowshares and your plows, turn all your instruments of husbandry into blades and into swords, turn them into weapons of war, for your enemies approach, and for many arms, and many men with arms, will there be need." Would that the blessed God would to-day in us repeat these very inspirations! But He is silent; and I, his Vicar, can not be otherwise—can not employ any means but silence.'

Here we should certainly, with these volumes of loud speech before us, desire to interpolate a skeptical note of interrogation. He proceeds, however, to say it is not for him to give authority for the manufacture of weapons; and that probably the revolution in Italy will destroy itself. But if that be his idea, why the ferocious passage about blades and swords which has just been presented to the reader, and the many references to forcible restoration in which he delights? It is probable that the Pontiff relents occasionally, and gives scope to his better mind; but habitually, and as a rule, he looks forward with eagerness to that restoration by foreign arms in the future, which forms to him, as we have seen, so satisfactory a subject of retrospective contemplation for the period from 1849 to 1866, and again from 1867 to 1870.

Many may desire to know, in concluding this examination, what are the utterances of the Pontiff with respect to the burning questions of the Vatican Decrees. It must be at Rome that the fashions are set in regard to infallibility, to obedience, and to the question of the relation between the Roman See and the Civil Power; and the work under review is perfectly unequivocal on this class of subjects, though less copious than in regard to that cardinal object of Papal desire, the restoration of the Temporal Power.

In times of comparative moderation, not yet forty-five years back, when Montalembert and Lamennais dutifully repaired to Rome to seek guidance from Gregory XVI., that Pontiff, in repudiating their projects through his Minister, paid them a compliment for asking orders from 'the infallible mouth of the Successor of Peter.' We are often told that the Pope can not be held to speak *ex cathedra* unless he addresses the whole body of Christians, whereas in this case he addressed only two. Now to the outer world, who try these matters by the ordinary rules of the human understanding, it seems to be a very grave inconvenience that the possessor of an admitted Infallibility should formally declare himself infallible in cases where he is allowed in his own title-deeds to be only fallible like the rest of us. One chief mark, however,

of declarations *ex cathedra* is that they are made to all the Faithful; and we observe in the title of these Discourses that they are addressed *Ai Fedeli di Roma e dell' Orbe*.

In the work of Don Pasquale, the term 'infallible' is very frequently applied to the Pope by the deputations. A crowd of three thousand persons shouts *Viva il Pontefice Infallibile* (i. 372, comp. i. 407); a lawyer, speaking for a company of lawyers (ii. 313), reveres 'the great Pope, the superlatively great King, the infallible master of his faith, the most loving father of his soul;' and the like strain prevails elsewhere (*e. g.* ii. 160, 165, 177, 190, 256) in these Addresses, which are always received with approval. Whether advisedly or not, the Pontiff does not (except once, i. 204) apply the term to himself; but is in other places content with alleging his superiority (as has been shown above) to an inspired Prophet, and with commending those who come to hear his words as words proceeding from Jesus Christ (i. 335).

On the matter of Obedience he is perfectly unequivocal. To the Armenians, who have recently resisted his absorbing in himself the national privileges of their Church, he explains (ii. 435) that to him, as the Successor of Saint Peter, and to him alone, is committed by Divine right the Pastorate of the entire Church; plainly there is no other real successor of the Apostles, for Bishops, he says, have their dioceses, it is true, but only by a title ecclesiastical, not Divine. To limit this power is heresy, and has ever been so. Not less plain is his sense of his supremacy over the powers of the world. His title and place are to be the Supreme Judge of Christendom (i. 204). It is not the office of any Government, but the sublime mission of the Roman Pontificate, to assume the defense of the independence of States (ii. 498); and so far from granting to nations and races any power over the Church, God enjoined upon them the duty of believing, and gave them over to be taught by the Apostles (ii. 452).

Finally, as respects the Syllabus and its mischievous contents, that document is not only upheld, but upheld as the great or only hope of Christian society. We hear (i. 444) of the advantage secured by the publication of the Syllabus. The Chair of Peter has been teaching, enlightening, and governing from the foundation of the Church down to the Syllabus and the Decrees of the Vatican (ii. 427, *bis*). The two are manifestly placed on a level. And, grieved as is the Pontiff at the

present perversion of mankind, and especially of the young, he is also convinced that the world must come to embrace the Syllabus, which is the only anchor of its salvation (*l'unica ancora di salute*, i. 58, 59).

One of the main objects of the Syllabus is to re-establish in the mass, all the most extravagant claims which have at any time been lodged by the Church of Rome against the Christian State. Hardly any greater outrage on society, in our judgment, has ever been committed than by Pope Pius IX. in certain declarations (i. 193, and elsewhere) respecting persons married civilly without the Sacrament. For, in condemning them as guilty of concubinage, he releases them from the reciprocal obligations of man and wife. But of all those which we have described as the burning questions, the most familiar to Englishmen is, perhaps, that of the Deposing Power; which, half a century ago, we were assured was dead and buried, and long past the possibility of exhumation or revival. It shall now supply us with our last illustration; for true as it is that, with reference to the possibilities of life and action, it remains the shadow of a shade, yet we have lived into a time when it is deliberately taught by the Ultramontane party generally, and not, so far as we know, disavowed by any of them.

Lord Robert Montagu, who was in the last Parliament the High Church and Tory Member for the orthodox county of Huntingdon, and is in this Parliament transformed into an ardent neophyte and champion of the Papal Church, in a recent Lecture before the Catholic Union of Ireland,¹ took occasion, among other extravagances, to set forth with all honor a passage from a Speech of the Pope, delivered on the 21st of July, 1871, in which he justified and explained the doctrine of the Deposing Power. According to the version he gave of the Italian Discourse, this Power was an 'authority, in accordance with public right, which was then vigorous, and with the acquiescence of all Christian nations.'

In the *Tablet* newspaper of November 21 and December 5, 1874, a writer, who signs himself C. S. D., assails Lord Robert Montagu for erroneous translation; and, with undeniable justice, points out that the words *secondo il diritto pubblico allora vigente* do not mean 'in ac-

¹ Dublin: M'Glashan and Gill, 1874, p. 10.

cordance with public right, which was then vigorous,' but 'in accordance with the public law' (or right) 'then in force.' He also quotes words not quoted by Lord Robert, to show that the Popes exercised this power at the call of the Christian nations (*chiamati dal voto dei popoli*); which, as he truly says, gives a very different color to the passage. His citation is, he states, from the *Voce della Verità* of 22d July, 1871, the day following the Speech, confirmed by the *Civiltà Cattolica* of August 19.

Amid these grave discrepancies of high authorities, our readers may desire to know what a still higher authority, the Pope himself, really did say; and we have, happily, the means of informing them from the volumes before us, which contain the 'sole authentic' report. The Speech was delivered, not on the 21st, but on the 20th of July, and will be found at vol. i. p. 203. We need not trouble the reader with a lengthened citation. The passage, as quoted by Lord Robert Montagu, will be found in Mr. Gladstone's 'Vatican Decrees,' p. 19. The essential point is that, according to C. S. D., the Pope justified the Deposing Power on this specific ground, that they were called to exercise it by the desire, or voice, or demand, of the nations. What will our readers say when we acquaint them that the passage given by C. S. D. in the *Tablet* is before our eyes as we write, and that the words 'called by the voice of the people' (*chiamata dal voto dei popoli*) are not in it? Whether they were spoken or not is another question, which we can not decide. What is material is that from the fixed, deliberate, and only authentic report they have been excluded, and that the Pope himself sustains, and therefore claims, the Deposing Power, not on the ground of any demand of the public opinion of the day, but as attaching to his office.

And now, in bidding farewell to Don Pasquale, we offer him our best thanks for his two volumes. Probably this acknowledgment may never meet his eyes. But lest, in the case of its reaching him, it should cause him surprise and self-reproach that he should have extorted praise from England and from Albemarle Street, we will give him 'the reason why.' We had already and often seen Infallibility in full-dress, in peacock's plumes; Infallibility fenced about with well-set lines of theological phrases, impenetrable by us, the multitude, the uninitiated. But Don Pasquale has taken us behind the scenes. He has shown us

Infallibility in the closet, Infallibility in *deshabille*, Infallibility able to cut its capers at will, to indulge in its wildest romps with freedom and impunity. And surely we have now made good the assurance with which we began. If ever there was a spectacle, strange beyond all former experience, and charged with many-sided instruction for mankind, here it is. We will conclude by giving our own estimate, in few words, of the central figure and of his situation.

In other days, the days of the great Pontiffs who formidably compete in historic grandeur with Barbarossa, and even with Charlemagne, the tremendous power which they claimed, and which they often contrived to exercise, was weighted with a not less grave and telling responsibility. The bold initiative of Gregories and Alexanders, of Innocents and Bonifaces, hardly indeed could devise bigger and braver words than now issue from the Vatican:

‘Quæ tuto tibi magna volant, dum distinet hostem
Agger murorum, nec inundant sanguine fossæ.’¹

But their decisions and announcements did not operate as now through agencies mainly silent, underground, clandestine; the agencies, for example, of affiliated monastic societies—the agency of the consummate scheme of Loyola—the agency, above all, of that baneful system of universal Direction, which unlocks the door of every household, and inserts an opaque sacerdotal medium between the several members of the family, as well as between the several orders of the State. Their warfare was the warfare of a man with men. It recalls those grand words of King David, ‘Died Abner as a fool dieth? Thy hands were not bound nor thy feet put into fetters: as a man falleth before wicked men, so fellest thou’ (2 Sam. iii. 33). When they committed outrage or excess, at least they were liable to suffer for it in a fashion very different from the ‘Calvary’ of Pope Pius IX. They had at their very gates the Barons of Rome, who then, at least, were barons indeed; and the tramp of the mailed hosts of the Hohenstaufens was ever in their ears. But now, when the Pope knows that his income is secured by a heavy mortgage upon the credulity of millions upon millions, to say nothing of the offers of the Italian Government in reserve, and that his outward conditions of existence are as safe and easy as

¹ *Æneid*, xi. 382.

those of any well-to-do or luxurious gentleman in Paris or in London, his denunciations, apart from all personal responsibility for consequences, lose their dignity in losing much of their manhood and all their danger; and the thunders of the Vatican, though by no means powerless for mischief with a portion of mankind, yet in the generality can neither inspire apprehension nor command respect.

Let us revert for a moment to the month of June, 1846.

A provincial Prelate, of a regular and simple life, endowed with devotional susceptibilities, wholly above the love of money, and with a genial and tender side to his nature, but without any depth of learning, without wide information or experience of the world, without original and masculine vigor of mind, without political insight, without the stern discipline that chastens human vanity, and without mastery over an inflammable temper, is placed, contrary to the general expectation, on the pinnacle, and it is still a lofty pinnacle, of ecclesiastical power. It is but fair towards him to admit that his predecessors had bequeathed to him a temporal polity as rotten and effete in all its parts as the wide world could show. At the outset of his Pontificate, he attempted to turn popular emotion, and the principles of freedom, to account in the interests of Church power. As to ecclesiastical affairs, he dropped at once into the traditions of the *Curia*. He was and is surrounded by flatterers, who adroitly teach him to speak their words in telling him that he speaks his own, and that they are the most wonderful words ever spoken by man. Having essayed the method of governing by Liberal ideas and promises, and having, by a sad incompetency to control the chargers he had harnessed to his car, become (to say the least) one of the main causes of the European convulsions of 1848, he rushed from the North Pole of politics to the South, and grew to be the partisan of Legitimacy, the champion of the most corrupt and perjured Sovereignties of Italy—that is to say of the whole world. Had he only had the monitions of a free press and of free opinion, valuable to us all, but to Sovereigns absolutely priceless, and the indispensable condition of all their truly useful knowledge, it might have given him a chance; but these he denounces as impiety and madness. As the age grows on one side enlightened and on another skeptical, he encounters the skepticism with denunciation, and the enlightenment with retrogression. As he rises higher and higher into the regions of transcendental obscurant-

ism, he departs by wider and wider spaces from the living intellect of man; he loses Province after Province, he quarrels with Government after Government, he generates Schism after Schism; and the crowning achievement of the Vatican Council and its decrees is followed, in the mysterious counsels of Providence, by the passing over, for the first time in history, of his temporal dominions to an orderly and national Italian kingdom, and of a German Imperial Crown to the head of a Lutheran King, who is the summit and centre of Continental Protestantism.¹

But what then? His clergy are more and more an army, a police, a caste; farther and farther from the Christian Commons, but nearer to one another, and in closer subservience to him. And they have made him 'The Infallible,' and they have promised he shall be made 'The Great.' And, as if to complete the irony of the situation, the owners, or the heirs, of a handful of English titles, formerly unreclaimed, are now enrolled upon the list of his most orthodox, most obsequious followers; although the mass of the British nation repudiates him more eagerly and resolutely than it has done for many generations.

Such is this great, sad, world-historic picture. Sometimes it will happen that, in a great emporium of Art, a shrewd buyer, after hearing the glowing panegyric of a veteran dealer upon some flaming and pretentious product of the brush, will reply, Yes, no doubt, all very true; but it is not a good picture to live with. So with regard to that sketch from the halls of the Vatican, which we have endeavored faithfully to present, we ask the reader in conclusion, or ask him to ask himself, *Is it a good picture to live with?*

¹ See the remarkable Tract of Franz von Löher, *Ueber Deutschlands Weltstellung*. München, 1874.

THE END.

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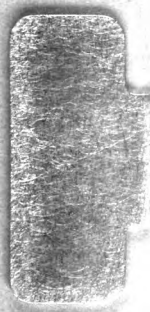
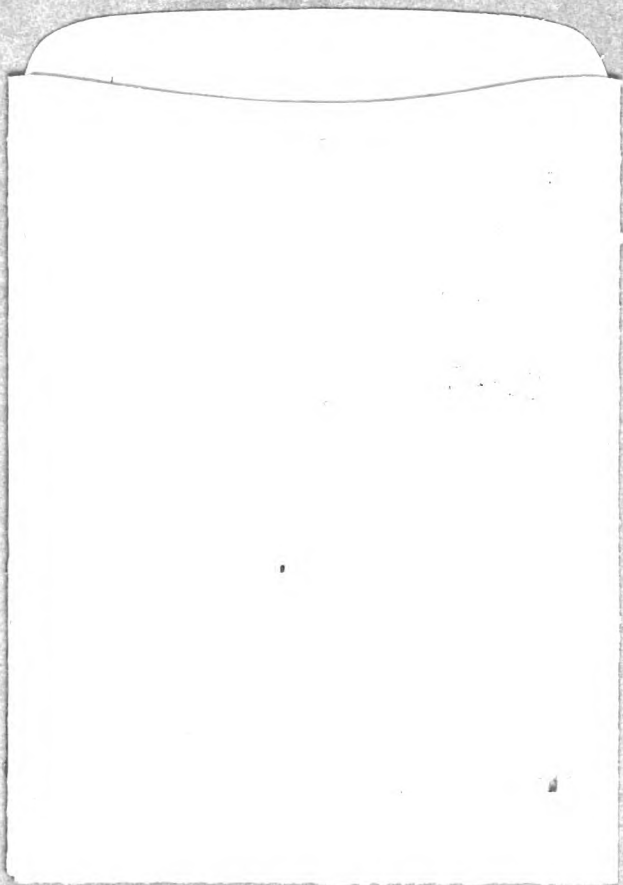
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